

(10)  
° **A Tory Plot :**  
OR THE  
**DISCOVERY**  
OF A  
**DESIGN**

Carried on by our late  
**ADDRESSEES**  
AND

**ABHORRERS;**  
To Alter the Constitution of the  
**Government,**

And to betray the  
**PROTESTANT RELIGION.**

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*By Philanax Misopappas.*

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L O N D O N ,  
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THE GREAT

OR THE

DISCOVERY

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February 24 1932

ADDRESSES

AND

LECTURES

by the

GOVERNMENT

of the

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T O T H E R E A D E R .

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## T O T H E R E A D E R .

**I** Am so heartily desirous of an Union amongst all that go under the Name of Protestants, against the Common Enemy the Papists, that I would never have singled out any of them under so black a Character as the Title gives them, if their designs had not been so palpable, and to unite with them would not bring a man into a combination to alter the Constitution of the Government, and to give the Protestant Religion its fatal blow. I am far from laying this charge upon all the subscribers of our late Addresses: for as there are many of them such as no good subject would refuse to subscribe, if he did not think them needless: so I have that charity for many that were induced to subscribe even the most obnoxious, that they did it rather in complacence to the importunity of the Promoters, than to serve any bad design. But I cannot so acquit the Contrivers of them; as none that loves the English Laws and Liberties and the Protestant Religion, will ( I believe ) think there is any reason I should, when he has read the following Animadversions. Whether the Presenters were chosen out of the chief of these, or whether they were but made use of like the Cat's foot, ( that the odium and it may be punishment might one day rest upon them ) I cannot tell: But if one may make an estimate of the Promoters in general, by some of those that presented them, Esq; Duppa will tell you they did



## TO THE READER.

not very well deserve that countenance and honour that was given them for their labour. For it was somewhat pleasant to observe our young Knights ranked in the Gazette, (Nov. 10. last) with Run-away servants and stray'd Horses, for not paying their Fees; and threatned, that course would speedily be taken for recovery thereof, according to His Majestie's late Order and Directions thereupon.

As to the Discourse it self, I must beg the Reader's patience while he peruses the former part of it, if he think I am too long in coming to the business: for it was necessary first to take a view of the just and orderly proceedings of the late Parliaments, in order to expose the designs of our Addressers that have loaded them with so many Calumnies. It is an undoubted privilege of Parliament, that none should be question'd out of it for any thing spoken or transacted in it: And yet at how many Barrs have the whole House of Commons been of late arraigned and condemned? Common humanity teaches to speak well of the dead, though faulty: but to revile one's own flesh and blood when gone, though truly Loyal and faithful, is intolerable barbarity. But when his Majesty shall say to these dry bones, Live, and they shall stand upon their feet, they will be the fittest to declare their resentment of such prophane tramping upon their Ashes.

That



**T**hat there has been a Design carried on for these many years, of extirpating the (miscalled.) *per-  
sistent Heresie* of Protestantism, and re-establishing the Roman Catholick Religion in these King-  
doms, none, after so evident and repeated proofs of it, can have the impudence to deny; and least of all should we expect it of them who have pretended *that* deference to the *publick Judgment* (or *Conscience*, as they term it) of the Nation, that they have branded every one with the name of Rebel and factious Schismatick, that have not conformed their own *private* ones to it. For if the unanimous Resolution of three or four Parliaments, and the sundry Intimations and Acknowledgments of several Proclamations are not in their opinion a sufficient Declaration of the Common or Publick Judgment, nor *that*, a competent ground to settle their Belief upon, I know not what can be suppos'd to be. For though perhaps when they talk of a *Publick Conscience*, they mean none but the King's; yet if ever the King be infallible, I would the readiest expect him to be so, when he has the concurrent Advice and consent of the whole Nation. And I think it most reasonable to assert, That there is infinitely greater cause and security for conforming our *Belief* to the *Opinion* of the King, Lords, and Commons, in a matter of *fact* examined with the greatest care and scrutiny, than that our *Practice* should exactly square to their *Laws* (be the matter of them never so controvertible) which yet these Gentlemen will affirm they ought to do.

Supposing then that the afore said *Resolves* and *Proclamations* were not made nor issued without the maturest deliberation, and fullest assurance of the truth of those Testimonies and Evidence

that occasion'd them ; it cannot be reputed too great credulity to believe, that Popery was to be introduc'd by those *means* and *methods* that the Discoverers of the Plot attested : ( For the *matter* it self is more considerable than the *manner*.) Now these are so well known, that I shall not need to enter upon particulars. As to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in which the designe was laid as well as in *England*, affairs have been so managed, that it is still, as to us, kept in a great measure secret. But as to *England*, a Nation always jealous of their Rights and Liberties, it was despair'd that she would ever be *imbued* to put on the Roman Yoke; and therefore there was no hopes of bringing that about, but by force. And now there wanted a plausible pretence to get up an Army. We were secure and quiet at home, and therefore no occasion for any standing Army to quell Insurrections, which was the occasion of getting one afoot in our neighbour-Nation. We were at Amity with all Christendom, therefore no reason to stand upon our guard, or arm for our defence. But the Genius of the English being most adverse to the French, the making a show of a War with *them*, was hoped would be least opposed or suspected. And though a great many of the more sagacious could hardly believe that we sincerely intended to force the French to *end* that War that we had encourag'd them to *begin*, and enabled them with Men, Horses, and Ammunition ( in abundance ) to *prosecute*; yet so apprehensive were the greater number of the danger of the growing greatness of that Monarch, and so willing to believe what they so earnestly desir'd, that not onely was the King impos'd upon by those that were about him, but the Parliament thereupon assembled, induc'd to comply with the designe. Accordingly an Army of Thirty thousand men or upwards is appointed to be rais'd, and a proportionable Tax levied for their Pay : But still as the Forces increased, the more eager were our Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* for making up a Peace. Which at last was got patch'd up with so little advantage to the Confederates, whose Quarrel we made a shew to espouse; that they have lost more by the Peace than they had done by the War. And now one would have thought the new rais'd Army should have been presently Disbanded ( the occasion of raising it seeming to be over ; ) but as we us'd to say, It is easier to raise the Devil than to

to lay him again, so this Army that was got together by one Sessions of Parliament, was hardly got dissolv'd by two. But for this also there wanted not a pretence; That it was necessary to continue in Arms till our Neighbors had disbanded, and the Articles of Peace (as to restoring of Towns, &c.) fulfilled; That it was not impossible, but the French might pick a Quarrel with us, to revenge our Hectoring of them (forsooth) into a Peace, (when every body saw who got by it.) But by this time the Wizard was pull'd off the design, and every one saw it in its own complexion: For in the mean time had the most execrable Plot that ever was contrived in the World, been discovered; wherein having resolv'd on the Murder of His Majesty, as soon as that should be accomplish'd, and the D. of T. should arrive at the Crown, this Army, into which many known Papists, but more Popishly inclin'd, had already been thrust (and which might have been model'd at pleasure by the new Sovereign) was to have been employ'd in this *Great Work of Converting three Kingdoms*. Not that by this alone they could compass their ends, though there had not been a man in it but what was devoted to their Interest (of which I believe there were many) but this was one step towards the effecting the Tragedy of a Massacre. But besides this open Force, they had list'd under hand a greater, of which Dr. Ogden his Narrative acquaints you with the chief Officers. But above all, their reliance was upon the French, who was now got clear of the Confederates, and was at leisure to serve their ends, and his own ambition. But by the good providence of God, none of those murdering Weapons that were formed against his Majesty, prosper'd; but he still remains alive the Protector of our Religion, Lives, and Liberties. Though if any of the Instruments they employ'd had dispatcht him out of the way, they were not unprovided of a Pretext to make the odium of it fall upon their greatest Enemies. An intimation of which they gave us in procuring Mr. Claypoole to be sent to the Tower about that time, whose Relation to Cromwell might make him to be presumed the greater Confident of his Party. It was suggested he should say, *That he and two hundred more had resolv'd to kill the King*. It matters



not how ridiculous such a Deposition seems at this time of day; but if the King had been cut off before the Papists were suspected or discover'd to have such a design, there are now who bear themselves high upon the name of *Protestants*, that would sooner have believed the Fanaticks to have committed the Fact than the Papists, and would have been ready to have joy'n'd with the Papists to their utter extirpation. And these *Nominal* Protestants are the men whose designs I shall now apply my self to trace and discover.

The late Long Parliament, who first made a considerable Enquiry into the Popish Plot, being dissolv'd, and the next that follow'd being by their sudden Dissolution prevented from bringing those to their Tryals that the former had committed; there sprang a Jealousie in the hearts of many, that some about his Majesty, who influenc'd his Counsels, were either themselves concerned in the Plot, or had too great a kindness for those that were, seeing they thus obstructed the further discovery of it, and prevented the prosecution of the Conspirators. But lest this disappointment should prove fatal to his Majesty, and give the Papists and their Adherents too much scope and opportunity of still carrying on and perfecting their wicked designs, several Worthy and Noble Peers, out of their great affection to their Sovereign, whom they apprehended in minutely danger, and from their zeal to the Protestant Religion, and for the *English* Liberty, both which were bound up in his Majesties Life, Petition'd his Majesty for the *Sitting* of the Third; which was chosen, but not as yet Assembled. Those that had advis'd the untimely Dissolution of the former, and the Prorogation of this, were alarm'd hereupon, and possess his Majesty that such Petitioning was Tumultuous, and contrary to I know not what Law of King *James*, and advise him to prohibit it by Proclamation. At the same time their little Emisseries were order'd to discourage it every where; and amongst the rest, Sir *George Jefferies* here in the City, who (as the Parliament in their Address against him word it) "Well knowing that  
"many of his Majesties Loyal Protestant Subjects, and parti-  
"ticularly

"ticularly those of his Majesties great and famous City of  
 "London, out of Zeal for the preservation of the Protestant  
 "Religion, his Majesties Royal Person and Government,  
 "and in hopes to bring the Popish Conspirators to speedy  
 "Justice, were about to petition his Majesty, in an humble,  
 "dutiful, and legal way, for the Sitting of this Parliament,  
 "the said Sir George Jefferies not regarding his duty to his  
 "Majesty, or the welfare of his People, did, on purpose to  
 "serve his own private ends, and to create a misunderstan-  
 "ding between his Majesty and his good Subjects, though  
 "disguised with pretence of Service to his Majesty, mali-  
 "ciously declare such Petitioning, sometimes to be Tumul-  
 "tuous, Seditious, and Illegal; and at other times did pre-  
 "sume publickly to insinuate and assert, as if his Majesty  
 "would deprive his Citizens of London of their Charters,  
 "and divers other Priviledges, Immunities, and Advantages,  
 "and also of his Royal Favour, in case they should so peti-  
 "tion, &c. ] But notwithstanding these Discouragements,  
 many Counties and Corporations did petition the King to the  
 purpose aforesaid; which these Gentlemen not being able  
 to prevent, they framed an Anti-petition, under the Notion  
 of an *Abhorrence*, wherein they endeavoured as much as in  
 them lay to induce his Majesty to conceive a sinister opinion  
 of the honest and humble desires of his most Loving and  
 Loyal Subjects. And their insinuations had that effect, that  
 it was many months ere the Parliament was permitted to Sit.  
 In the mean time our Pulpits began to eccho with the Mis-  
 chiefs of *Separation*, the danger the Church and State were  
 in from Fanaticks; the *Schism* of the Nonconformists had  
 twenty Invectives against it, for one against the *Treason* of the  
 Papists: R. L'Estrange struck up his Fiddle, and play'd us the  
 Old Tune of *Forty One*; he industriously labour'd to bring  
 the Witnesses of the *Popish Plot* under suspicion of Combina-  
 tion and Perjury: Sir Robert *Yeomans*, and Sir Robert *Can* of  
*Bristol*, with *Thompson*, a person fit for their Chaplain, avow-  
 edly declare, That there was no *Popish Plot*, but a *Presbyterian*  
*Plot*: and it has been the common Cry of the whole Herd,  
 from that time to this, That his Majesty and the Church of  
 Eng-

England, was and is as in great or greater danger from the Dissenters, than from the Papists. But notwithstanding all the prejudice they endeavour'd to create in his Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, he was so careful of his Own and his Peoples safety, as to assemble this long-desired Parliament in October 80. What opinion the House of Commons had of our *Abhorrrers*, as these Gentlemen have not yet forgotten, so they have given by-standers some diversion to observe how ever since they have resent'd their Treatment. We shall onely observe what thanks the Commons contr'd G. Earl of H. who was believed to have a principal hand in dissolving the last, and staving off the sitting of the present Parliament. In an Address against him to the King, they thus express themselves : *That being deeply sensible of the manifold Dangers and Mischiefs, which have been occasioned to this Kingdom by the Dissolution of the last Parliament, and by the frequent Prorogation of this present Parliament, whereby the Papists have been greatly encouraged to carry on their Hellish and Damnable Conspiracies against His Majesties Royal Person and Government, and the Protestant Religion now establish'd amongst us; and have had many opportunities to contrive false and malicious Plots against the Lives and Honours of severall of His Loyal Protestant Subjects; and having just reason to believe that the said Dissolution was promoted by the evil and pernicious Counsels of G. Earl of Hallifax; Do therefore most humbly pray His Majesty — That he would be graciously pleased to remove the said G. Earl of H. from His presence and Counsels for ever.* But notwithstanding this Address, he still keeps his Station. Sir Rob. Yeomans, upon confessing the Accusation against him, and begging pardon of the House, is dismiss'd. But Sir Rob. Cann reviling his Accusers, and especially being a Parliament-man, for him to be guilty of such an Expression, was so great an Aggravation, that being expell'd the House, he is committed to the Tower. Thompson's punishment was prevented by the Dissolution of the Parliament.

And



And now the *Parliament*, according to the direction of his Majesty, vigorously *prosecute* the *Plot*, try all the ways and methods whereby his Majesties safety might be ensur'd, and Religion secur'd. As for themselves, they present an Address, declaring their resolution to preserve and support the King's Person and Government, and the Protestant Religion both at home and abroad; for which the King thank't them heartily. As to the Plot, they appoint a Committee to inspect and to take an Abstract of the Journals of both Houses, as to matters relating to it; upon the Report whereof, they resolve, *Nemine contradicente*, *That the D. of York's being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Designs and Conspiracies against the King and Protestant Religion.* ] And, *That in the defence of the King's Person and Government, and of the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, That they will stand by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majesty shall come by any violent Death (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.* Hereupon they bring in a Bill, and pass it, for securing the Protestant Religion, by disabling James Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging; but with a Proviso, that it should extend to the person of the Duke of York onely. But the Lords rejecting this Bill, and thereby the most probable Expedient the Commons could think of, for the security of his Majesty and the Protestant Religion, being frustrated, they then in a Committee of the whole House, make these two Resolves: First, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That as long as the Papists have any hopes of the Duke of York's succeeding the King in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, the King's Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects, are in apparent danger of being destroyed.* ] The Second, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the House be moved that a Bill be brought in for*  
an...

an Association of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects, for the safety of his Majesties Person, the defence of the Protestant Religion, and the preservation of his Majesties Protestant Subjects against all Invasions and Oppositions whatsoever; and for the preventing the Duke of York, or any Papist, from succeeding to the Crown, ] To both which Resolves the House agreed. As to this Bill of Association, we shall have occasion to speak to it afterwards: but as to the Bill of Exclusion, we must say something of it here, the rather, because our late Addressers and Abhorers have taken occasion thence to revile this incomparably Loyal House of Commons with endeavours of subverting the Government. And I shall demonstrate both its Legality, its Equity, and its Expediency.

1. As to its Legality, I could never hear more than two things oppos'd; the one, that Kings holding their Crowns by right of Primogeniture, it is against the Law of Nature to exclude the next Heir; the other, that it is against the Oath of Allegiance. The first is so silly an Allegation, that one would think no man that has heard of the several forms of Government in the World, or read the History of his own Nation, could have the confidence to insist upon it. In how many Kingdoms has Force and Violence, and the longest Sword, settled an absolute Monarchy? How oft has that Yoke been shak'd off, and the Government turn'd into a Free State? How many different Models of both Monarchies and States are there at this day in the World? and yet none of them (that I know of) but are, and ought to be own'd by the Subjects for lawful Governments, and submitted unto for the Lords sake. If Princes held by this Right, how impossible were it for them to make out their Title *ab origine*, if questioned? Or shall we say, that all States live contrary to the Law of Nature, because they retain not this form of Government? or that *Elective* Kings (such as he of Poland) are not as truly Kings (and to be obey'd as such) as *Hereditary*? What shall we say of God's giving the Kingdom of Israel to Saul of the Tribe of Benjamin, the

the youngest of Jacob's sons, or to David the youngest of his Father's sons; and of the Tribe of Judah, while none of *Reuben's* Offspring ever sat upon the Throne. On if God may by Prerogative dispense with this Law, how came David to put *Adonijah* by the Throne, and seat *Solomon* in it? Here in England King *William 2.* was King *William 1.* his third Son, and yet was advanced to the Crown, and his eldest Brother *Robert* slain off with a Dukedom. And in those days (says *Baker*) Illegitimacy was no bar to Succession. King *Stephen* succeeded *H. 1.* though that King had a Daughter, *Maud* the Empress, then living, and *Stephen* had also an Elder Brother, Named *Theobald*. King *John* was admitted to the Crown, though his Elder Brother's Son was living. It were endless to give Instances both out of Sacred and prophane History of the like Nature. Away then with this extravagant fancy, and let the Sovereign Powers think their right sufficiently proved by the Law of the Land, by their present quiet possession, and the Allegiance of their Subjects. But now this Oath of Allegiance is pretended not only to oblige those that take it, to the present Sovereign, and to his Lawful Successors after his decease, but even in his life-time. To this it is obvious to say, that it is a Solecism and Non-sense to affirm that any one is a man's Heir or Successor while himself lives; for the Successor only commences such at his Predecessor's death. And therefore he that intentionally swears to Allegiance to the former in the Life-time of the latter, is in plain terms a Traitor. For the plain intent and meaning of the Oath, is no more than this, That seeing in Monarchies that are Hereditary there is no *Interregnum*, but upon the death of the present Sovereign his Successor is immediately Invested in his Power, it is prudently provided by this Oath that the Subjects Allegiance shall not be suspended till the new Sovereign's Coronation, by which the mutual stipulation is renewed: But as the Heir's entering upon the Government does imply that he accepts it upon the same Conditions as the former, so the Subjects Allegiance on



to the same conditions as his Predecessor held it; so does  
this Oath as effectually bind the Subject before the Coro-  
nation as after. And hereby are very great hazards and  
inconveniences prevented: for *Multa cadunt inter calicem  
supremaque labra*; and the Coronation being usually per-  
form'd with great Pomp and Ceremony, many Accidents  
may happen, before all things can be prepared for the  
Solemnity, that may require the utmost service of the  
people, and therefore 'tis requisite they should in the  
mean time be under his command. But now all the que-  
stion is, whether such a particular man has so unalterable  
a right to be such a ones Heir, that no Crime can forfeit  
that right, no Power annul it? What the Crime in our pre-  
sent case is, we should better have known, if the hasty  
Dissolution of so many Parliaments, and a *Noli Prose-  
qui* had not hindred. But that we may resolve this  
Query, let us make a Fiction of Case. Suppose the pre-  
sent King and his Ancestors for several Generations sin-  
cere and hearty Professors of the Protestant Religion,  
Swearing at their Coronation that they will Defend and  
Protect it, as the most considerable Branch of the Law  
of the Land. And suppose him that expects to be Heir,  
perverted from this to the Popish Religion, notwith-  
standing the Examples of his Ancestors and the Com-  
mands of his Martyr'd Father to the contrary. Suppose  
his Principal Servant and greatest Confident bragging of  
the apparent likelihood of *Rooting out this Beselement Nor-  
thern Heresie*, and of the Zeal of his Master in the  
Cause, declaring that his Master's and a Neighbouring  
Monarch's Interest (the most dangerous Enemy to his  
Country) are inseparable. Suppose this Confident also  
Actually engag'd in contriving the Murder of the present  
Monarch, to hasten his Masters coming to the Crown.  
Supposing all this, we can hardly imagine a Crime to be  
Blacker, or a person more Obnoxious to a Suspicion of  
designing the Subversion of the Establish'd Religion,  
and

and in it of the Government, if ever he should be seated in the Throne. So that if any Crimes can be a sufficient cause of Exclusion, or if any person can be put by his Pretensions to the Crown, these are the Crimes and this is the Person that demerit it. And now let us consider whether a Parliament have not a Power to inflict such a Punishment on such Offences. It is from the Laws enacted by Parliament, that such a Fact has such a punishment awarded to it. That Felonies are punished with Death, as well as Murder, (though it be otherwise in many Countries, and also by the Divine Law.) That Words without any other Overt Act are as Treasonable, and render the Speakers liable to the same Death and like forfeit of Estate, as a *actual Assassinating* the King would do. The Parliament can make laying that which in the nature of the thing is not impossible to be true, to be Treason. The King alone, to those Offences that by the Law deserve Death, can appoint Banishment or perpetual Imprisonment, &c. if they respect himself only; but if the People be Interested, then can He with the two Houses inflict what Punishment they please. They can Attain any man, or take off the Attainder, as they see good. They can Legitimate a Bastard, or Illegitimate one that is Born in Lawful Wedlock. Of both we have Instances in Q. Mary and Q. Elizabeth, for both of them in 28 H. 8. were declared Illegitimate, whereas one of them must needs be Legitimate; and in 35 H. 8. they were both of them rendered Inheritable to the Crown, which must needs be as much as Legitimate, though one of them must necessarily be Illegitimate, the latter being Born, while the former's Mother was Living. (For if according to the determination of the Universities Domestick and Foreign, the Brother, by the Law of God, might not Marry the Relict of his Brother, then King Henry's Marriage with Queen Mary's Mother, that had been his Elder Brother Prince Arthur's Wife, was unlawful and consequently null in it self *ab initio*, before the Declaration

of it in Parliament. And if it be not unlawful nonnull, then must his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth be certainly unlawful, and consequently Queen Elizabeth illegitimate. They can Devorce a man from his Wife for other causes than Adultery; so that the Parties shall be at liberty to marry others. *Non obstante* our Saviour's declaration as to the Jewish Oeconomy; yea, they can and have granted such a Power to Doctors-Commons, that Impotency in the Man shall be a sufficient cause for Divorce or a nullity; as we had an Instance about four years ago in one Rowley and Mrs. Pirman his Wife. (And by the way, if Impotency be a sufficient cause for dissolving the Sacredty of Marriage, because the main end of Marriage, the propagating Mankind, is thereby frustrated; it may be equally reasonable to debar such an one the Espousal of the Government, as is notorious before-hand, is perverted to an utter incapacity of answering the ends of it.) And on the other side the Parliament can grant a Divorce, if the Woman be Incapable of Generation. And so was Henry the Eighth in the 31. year of his Reign Divorced from his Queen the Lady Anne of Cleve, who survived to the fourth year of Queen Mary; and yet the King Married again within little more than a Month after this Divorce. But to proceed. The two Houses can give away the whole Kingdom to the King, do as to make him sole possessor of all; and then they can dispose of or Alienate the Crown-lands, or any Branch of the Kings Revenue, as they please. They can Banish any Natural Born Subject, and make him in worse condition than an Alien; and on the other hand can Naturalize any Foreigner. In a word, they have an unbounded absolute Dominion over the Lives, Liberties and Estates of any Subject in the Kingdom, and such is every one but the King himself. We have had Instances of Queens being Beheaded: In relation to which we shall not need to inquire whether they were really guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge; 'tis sufficient to observe that sup-  
 posing



being them guilty of the Crimes, they are not exempted from the punishment. And who is nearer related to the King than She that is one with him? Who nearer allied to the privileges of a Crown, than she that has had it set upon her Head? And if such a one may be brought to the Scaffold, and die the deserved Death of a Traytor, as it is unreasonable for any other to expect to be excused, so could no man argue the high Court that condemn'd her to die, of Injustice, but rather admire their Lenity and Mercy, if they should mitigate the punishment, into a Banishment from the Kingdom, from the Rights of a Queen and of a Consort. They that have Power to inflict the greatest punishment, cannot be denied the privilege of assigning what commutation they please; And thus *Exclusion* would be favourably Substituted for *Beheading*. And as they are the only Competent Judges what Offences are and ought to be esteemed Capital; so if they shall judge the Crime before them of an Inferiour nature, they may proportion the punishment to their Discretion. As to our present Case, we have not (as I intimated above) had the advantage to be fully informed of the Crime, and so cannot pass an estimate of its demerit: But if it amounted to so much as I have supposed, (or may be more) as it does in it self deserve, so have I shewn that the Parliament have a power to punish it with, (at least) an *Exclusion* from the Government. And thus much for the *Legality* of the Fact.

2. And as it *Lawful*, so it is an Act of the greatest *Equity* and Justice in the World. For though it be very laudable and a duty for private men to forgive private injuries, and to do good for evil: Yet Offenders and Offences against the Government, and the Publick-weal, are of another nature and consideration. Thus if a man assault my person, wound my reputation, trespass on my ground, or the like, it will argue a Christian temper, and Conformable to the Holy Law and example of our Saviour, to pass it by without

re-

requiring satisfaction or reparation. But now if one Prince make an In-road into anothers Countrey, and make spoil therein, satisfaction ought to be demanded and exacted both by Divine and Humane Laws. Or if any man, or number of men endeavour the Murther of the King, the Subversion of the Government, or the like: In these Cases the Old Law still takes place, *An Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth.* Nay, if the Design be laid and resolv'd upon, though not to be put in Execution till after some distance of time, 'tis just to treat the Designers at the same rate, as if they were actually engag'd in the same Fact. Thus if one Prince has certain Information by some of another Prince's Cabinet Council, that that other is preparing to Invade him: It is just and Lawful by the Law of Nations, that he should first enter with an Army, into that other Prince's Territories, and by making the Seat of War there, to hinder the devastation of his own. And thus the imagining the Kings Death, or entring into Consultation how to Compass it, is as Capital an Offence as actual perpetrating the Villany. In like manner if he that pretends to the Succession, be a person that is already engag'd in a Design to alter the Government, that by the accursed eye of his deluded Conscience, and the destructive Principles of his Religion has given certain notice that he thinks himself obliged to extirpate the Religion establish'd, and to persecute the resolv'd Adherers to it to the death, what in the whole World is more equitable and moderately just, than that this person should be incapacitated from doing all this evil, by preventing his accession to the Throne, which he will thus defile with Blood, and profane with damnable Heresie?

3. And as to its expediency or policy, every man certainly must be convinced of that, that values his Religion, Life or Liberty. And here a man could not but smile (if the matter we are a speaking of, were not so serious) at the im-

impertinence of some of *L' Etrange's* Clergy, and others, that can object that a Bill of Exclusion is against our Religion; 'tis obvious what Religion they mean: For *Christ's* it cannot be, who came not to *divide inheritances*, and model the Civil Constitutions of Kingdoms; *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*, is a plain demonstration that he intended not to give Laws to Governments. And if these Gentlemen can think that any command or example in the Old Testament countenance their assertion, though I could never here of any one, yet who knows not but that *our* Nation and all other Christian Kingdoms, have alwaies thought themselves no further oblig'd by the Civil Constitutions of the Jews, than they have translated them into those of their respective Countries? But neither is it contrary to *that* Religion that *these* Blades are *truely* of, and hope one day to profess publicly: For though the Papists have made themselves merry with traducing that opinion of the Puritans, *That Dominion is founded in Grace*; yet it is notorious that they hold the same opinion themselves. Every one that is vers'd in their Writings (or has read those of our own) must needs observe it to be their constant doctrine, that no Heretical King (and such is every one with them, that is not a Roman Catholick) has any right to rule, but the Pope may depose him and give his Kingdom to whom he will. I mean not here to defend the Puritans opinions, especially in that sense to which it is wrested by some; but I say, the Argument is very strong and cogent *ad hominem*, That seeing in their own opinion a Protestant has no right to rule, because they believe him to be an Heretick, we may very well be permitted to prevent a Papist from ruling, who we are sure is the most damn'd Heretick in the World. And it is reasonable that men of our belief and constitution should as confidently acquiesce in an Act of Parliament, as a Papist does on the Bull of a Pope. Besides, there is something in this that may well be referr'd to the former head of Equity, seeing.

--Non



*Non Lex est iustior ulla,  
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

No juster Laws, than that a man betry'd  
By Laws, which he'd have others to abide.

For there is no reason in the world a man should take  
advantage of a principle, which he will not allow that others  
should likewise improve to their own benefit.

It was an oracular saying of a bad man, *it is expedient  
that one man die for the people*: I will not blaspheme my  
Saviour with comparing the person now under consideration  
to Him, nor mean to cast an imputation upon the House of  
Commons, for concurring with Caiaphas's advice (though  
being High-Priest that year he spoke as one inspir'd from  
Heaven) but taking the words abstractedly, without con-  
sideration of the Speaker or the Person spoken of, nothing can  
be imagined more honestly and reasonably politick; and if  
applied to the case in hand, nothing more expedient. For  
when matters are come to this pass, that either a Nation in  
general must be deprived of all that is dear to them, their Re-  
ligion, their Liberties, and it may be their Lives, or that  
one man that will be the Author of all this mischief, must be  
put out of a capacity to effect it; though by excluding him  
from a Right which otherwise he were intitled to; it needs  
not much deliberation what course to take, seeing I have al-  
ready proved that to resolve upon this latter is not contrary to  
Law, is most consonant to Equity and above all, the most  
expedient. Which last consideration I shall pursue no fur-  
ther, being so excellently done already in *The Character of a  
Popish Successor*.

Having

Having thus vindicated the passing of the Bill of *Exclusion*, I have in doing so detected the designs and interests those have espoused, that have on this account calumniated these Honourable and Loyal Senators with endeavours to subvert the Government establish'd, with Republican designs, with the Nick-name of *Presbyterians*, and all that's odious. His Majesty indeed has, The natural affection towards a Brother, his incomparable lenity of disposition, and his consciousness of having deserved so infinitely of those that seek his Ruine, that he cannot easily believe there can be so monstrous ingratitude in Nature; I say he has all these to Apologize for his not giving countenance to the Bill, and to keep Him in the good opinion of his Loyal Subjects: But for others that have none of these colour'd Glasses to look through, they may indeed affirm, as they do, that white is black, but they lie against the truth and their own eyes, and prove nothing with all their confident clamour, but that they are well pleas'd at the King's danger, and triumph in the hopes of a Successor for their turn. This will be more plain by and by, when I come to examine the *Addresses*, which will also give us occasion to observe the perverse construction they give of the Bill for repealing 35 *Eliz.*

This Parliament indeed deserves the heaviest censure for striking down so strong a Pillar of the Cause as the Lord *Stafford*, when one and thirty Lords had set to their shoulders to support it. Losers may have leave to speak, and we'll hear what they can say, when they have taken a turn to *Oxford*.

The aforesaid Session continued almost three months, and brought forth but three *living* Acts; a fourth was *still-born* and never saw the light. After a prorogation for a few daies this Parliament was dissolved, and another called to assemble at *Oxford*; that seeing *Pisgah* had proved so unfortunate, it might be tried whether *Peor* would be more favourable. It was fir the people should be minded of his Majesties Prerogative to Assemble Parliaments not only *when*, but *where*

he please; and whatever private reasons the King might have for it, the subject had a satisfactory reason, when they understood their Sovereign *would have it so*. Some insinuated to his Majesty that it was *ominous*; but He was not so superstitious as to apprehend any danger in going thither, though perhaps too apprehensive of it since his return back. There was a great concourse of people, many going thither in complement to their Members, many meerly out of curiosity, being invited with the Novelty; and some (perhaps) over sagacious, to defend the Assembly, if they should be assaulted by the Papists. The House of Commons declared to all the world (as the Speaker express it in his Speech at his presentment to the King), *that they were not given to change*; which was true as he meant it, seeing he had been Speaker too in the last Parliament; but was also *prophetical*, for they still pursued the same means for preservation of the Protestant Religion and the King's person. The Bill of *Exclusion* that pass'd the House the last Parliament, is still esteem'd the *only* thing that can do it. Sir L. J. condemns it of injustice, irreligion, perjury (which I think I have sufficiently vindicated it from;) but it was observed he had no body to second him, his objections were such downright Cant. Others of the Duke's Friends finding the House absolutely of opinion that it was lawful, endeavour'd to stave it off by offering an Expedient that might as well answer the ends of that Bill, and not be subject (as they pretended) to such inconveniences. And that was, That the Duke should have the *Title* of King; but the *Regency* or administration of the Kingly power, should be in the next Heir. A pretty wheedle! as if granting the *Title* to the immediate Successor, and thereby declaring that the right was in him, would not give him a fairer pretence and opportunity of usurping the *Power* likewise, than if he were excluded the *Title* as well as Administration. For the Authors of this pretty Expedient had made this an objection against the former Bill, *That it would Entail a War on the Nation*; and if the Duke should obtain his right by Conquest, he might



might use the right of a Conqueror, giving what Laws he pleas'd, and might change this *Limited Monarchy* into an *Absolute*. And indeed this new Invention saves up that danger to admiration it does it not? But besides, this Expedient is founded on this bottom, it must suppose him to be either an intolerable Knave or a perfect Fool, a desperate Villain or a Madman. His greatest enemies would acquit him of the latter imputation, and his Friends from the former, so that the Person and the Power would soon be piec'd together. Sir *F. W.* said, that seeing an Act of Parliament against common sense is void, and that it were a contradiction and non-sense to make a man King and not to suffer him to exercise Kingly power; if such an Act should pass, it would signifie nothing, unless it were to shew that the House of Commons were out-witted. It was clearly carried therefore that it was safer, nay that it was absolutely necessary, that the old Bill of Exclusion should be insisted on.

But there was another business in this Parliament that made as great a controversy, and which occasioned the speedy dissolution of it. *Edw. Fitz-Harris* had hired Mr. *Everard* to draw up a Treasonable Libel in the name of the Non-conformists, (giving him instructions for it) which was to be Printed and sent about by the Penny-post to the Protestant Lords, and the Leading men of the House of Commons, &c. who were to be taken up as soon as they had it, upon hopes that upon search it might be found about them. This Sham-plot being discovered to Authority, *Fitz-Harris* was seized on, and committed to Newgate, where inclining to confess the bottom of the Design, he was transmitted to the Tower. Sir *R. C.* and Sir *G. T.* give information of his Confession that he had made to them, to the House. Whereupon the House Resolve, "That the same *Edward Fitz-Harris* be impeached of High Treason, in the name of the Commons of England, and that Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* do go up, and Impeach him at the Bar of the Lord's House. But the Lords refused to

proceed upon this Impeachment, and directed that he should be proceeded against at the Common Law. This the Commons Resolve to be *a denial of Justice, a violation of the Constitution of Parliaments, an obstruction to the further discovery of the Plot, and of great danger to his Majesties person and the Protestant Religion.* And indeed (not to mention that the Bishops intermeddled in rejecting the Impeachment, in which case being Capital they had no right to Vote) seeing the Upper House had made no scruple in the former Parliament of receiving the Impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* (a Commoner) it was plain what considerations influenc'd them at this time to be of another opinion. However about twenty there were that protested against this rejection, and esteemed the Commons demand of Justice there, to be reasonable and just, and such as ought to have been granted. But a speedy dissolution soon reconciled this difference, and *Westminster-Hall* has since determin'd the controversy.

And thus having given a short account of the busineses agitated and the manner of proceeding in these two Parliaments, we shall be able to make the truer estimate of the grounds upon which some have made so bold to traduce them.

The Members were scarcely got home, but out comes a *Declaration*, charging them with *unarrantable* and *Arbitrary* proceedings: but giving assurance, that his Majesty would call *frequent* Parliaments, that he would make the Laws the Rule of his Government, and that he would maintain the Religion establish'd. *Many* begin to long for the performance of the *first* promise, that would not doubt of the two latter from so good and gracious a King, and so hearty a Protestant. But *others* by magnifying and inculcating the King's Prerogative of calling Parliaments *when* and where he please, seem willing to perswade Him, He may be dispensed with in the breach of it. Not that these are

are greater Friends to the Prerogative than the other, but they care less for Parliaments that alone can enable the King to uphold the Religion and the Government.

Out of Complement to this Declaration are Addresses presented from all hands; some indeed containing nothing but thanks for the gracious promises therein contained; such was that from *Warwickshire*, &c. the most, only a Declaration that they mean to keep their Oath of Allegiance in being true and faithful to the King, his Heirs and lawful Successors: And these truly were *dignum patella operculum*. That when his Majesty had promised nothing but what he had oblig'd himself to at his Coronation, by a more sacred rite; these to express their acknowledgment of the favour, barely say what they had formerly sworn to. All this sort of Addressers might e'en as well have let the matter rest, and have concurr'd with the City of *Lincoln* in their opinion, who (in their Address) say, they thought there was no better way of expressing their Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesties most Sacred Person, and their grateful sense of His excellent Government, than a peaceable and quiet demeanour in their several Callings and Stations, an humble submission to acquiesce in his Majesties good and wholesome Laws, relating to the Government both of Church and State, and a readiness, as oft as his Majesty in his Princely wisdom judges fit to call a Parliament, to choose such Members as they conceive to be perfectly devoted to his Majesties Service, and the welfare of the Church and State, as now by Law established, without intermeddling with the Calling or Dissolving of them. I thought even these that thought thus, that they might follow the fashion, play the fool for company, as themselves render the reason of their Address. And it must certainly be from the impertinence of this sort, that the Inns of Court, those Frontists of Law and Loyalty, disdain'd to serve up any such Crambe; and those two famous and Mother Cities, *London* and *York*, look'd on and had the diversion to see their children act like such.

But



But if we have any reason to question the discretion of these Addressers, we have much more cause to suspect the honesty of the following. This kind are continually a hawling out Whore to others, that they may have a Monopoly of the Trade themselves. *An oblige, you asperse the Government, you resist its Authority,* is their general accusation; whilst they do the same things avowedly in the face of the Sun. Thus Ripon account it a matter of the highest joy and satisfaction, that they are deliver'd from the unwarrantable proceedings of the House of Commons. If they have indeed proceeded unwarrantably, let his Majesty and they fairly dispute it in God's name at their next Meeting; but what have these Scoundrels, a Parson's Son and a company of Spur-makers, to do with it. The one might learn from his Father to keep to his Text, and the others from the Boot-maker to look to their Lasts, without calumniating an essential part of the Government. Yet the term *unwarrantable* is somewhat modest tho'; now enter jangling Will with his Myrmidons, complaining, that the House of Commons made use of an Arbitrary and Illegal power, to the great prejudice of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, contrary to the known Laws of this Kingdom, and to the discouragement of the Members of that House, and all other Loyal Students and Practisers of the Laws. A little discouragement will serve their turn, God knows! and if they want a better pretence for their Idleness, they are welcom to this, let them take what course they please; I'll warrant 'em neither Grey's Inn nor Westminster-Hall will lament the loss or much want their company. However we must acknowledge them good Proficients for their standing; for they know more Laws of the Kingdom, than the oldest man of their House ever read of. They had done well to have particularized the Laws and the Offences; however because the whole Gang are acted by the same Spirit, we may inform our selves at least of the latter from Cheselden, who remain Loyal thanks for his Majesty's Dissolving the Parliament, and thereby preserving them from the late growing Usurpation, of Arbitrary Government,

pent, by imprisoning his Majesties Subjects, &c. to *Monet uti  
mente nepotum Judicium Paridis, &c.* This usurping Parlia-  
ment lodg'd five Friends in the Tower for nothing else but  
designing to murder the King and to alter the Govern-  
ment in Church and State; Another honest Protestant,  
for saying there was no Popish, but a Presbyterian Plot.  
O Crimes unpardonable! A third sort were committed to  
the Serjeant's Ward for betraying the liberty of the Subject,  
and contributing to the design of subverting the ancient  
legal Constitution of this Kingdom, and introducing Arbi-  
trary Power. O Usurpation! O Arbitrariness! But what  
shall we think of *them* that insinuate their belief of the  
King's being in more danger of the Parliament, than of ei-  
ther Papists or Presbyterians? Enter *Weobley* and *Richmond*.  
*Weobley*: We shall still acknowledge God's goodness in blessing us  
with a Prince who so prudently foresaw the ruin of Your Self  
and us, which must have been expected from such unparallel'd  
Mischiefs which were threatened, if they had not been timely pre-  
vented (by Dissolving the Parliament). *Richmond*: We must  
most dutifully, &c. present to Your Sacred Majesty, from our Hearts,  
a more thankful acknowledgement for Your most gracious Late  
Declaration, than we can in any words express whereby  
you have assured unto us, the preservation of our Religion,  
Liberties and Properties, that were all lately like to have  
been swallowed up in monstrous confusions, if the special  
Spirit of God had not inspired our Hearts to prevent our  
blame not to mention the imputation of Enthusiasm cast upon  
His Majesty, which such a Master of Reason would be  
asham'd to pretend to, what is the scope of both these  
Addresses but to work His Majesty into an apprehension of  
Treasonable and Rebellious Designs against His Person and  
the Government carried on by two Parliaments; than  
which none ever express a greater care and providence  
for the preservation of both. This is the only saving Card  
that the men of this Interest have to play, to make the  
King jealous and fearful of his Parliaments, and conse-  
quently to breed a diffidence in them of Him, that the  
four-

foundations of the Government being render'd thus unsteady, they may upon a favourable juncture overturn it, and erect their own new Model. And to accomplish this design, 'tis not only the method of these whiffling Boroughs already mentioned, and of others I might recite, (as *Weymouth, Thetford, &c.*) but of deeper Heads. The University of *Chambridge* is itself reflecting on these Parliaments, and speaks of them in these terms: *That factious and malicious men have not proceeded to plunder and sequestration, to violate our Chapels, rife our Libraries and empty our Colledges as once they did; next to the over-ruling providence of God, is only due to the Royal care and prudence of Your sacred Majesty, who gave so seasonable a check to their Arbitrary and insolent undertaking.* What could be spoken more malicious, or what, if his Majesty could be induc'd to believe it true, could possibly tempt him more to resolve never to put himself into the danger of the like Assembly? And that we need not question their desire and design of cashiering Parliaments, they take upon themselves a power of repealing an Act of Parliament; for they make bold to affirm, *That no Religion, no LAW, no fault or forfeiture can alter the Succession: whereas the Statute of 13 Eliz. had made it Treason to affirm that the LAWS and Statutes made in Parliament do not bind the Right of the Crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance and governance thereof.* It were needless to recite the like assertions in other Addresses, for these are enough to convince any man of the design, that is not engag'd in it; and those that are, will never be convinc'd but by a Parliament which in due time may let them see their error. And to make his Majesty more favourable to their purpose, and lest his Wants and necessities should be stronger Arguments to him for assembling a Parliament (the only Legal means of supplying them) than their *Insinuations* for staying him from it, they first accuse the late Sessions for unreasonably obstructing his Majesties demands of supplies of Money (so *Northumberland*) and then to put Him into a readier method of furnishing himself, the County Palatine of *Dur-*  
*ham*



ham in their late *Anti-Association*, as they call it, thus express themselves: [ *And that we may not only verbally express our Loyalty, we do as in Duty and Allegiance bound give this Assurance, That our Lives and Fortunes shall be ready, and that we will CONTRIBUTE MONEY to our uttermost Abilities, when ever your Majesties occasions shall require.* ] No mention at all here of a Parliament, but both by the words and the whole scope and drift of this Address, it is plain they mean a voluntary *Contribution*, whenever His Majesty shall signify that his occasions require it. Thus by these few passages we see how industriously they are engaged in carrying on the *leading* half of the Popish Plot, viz. *Arbitrary Government*; we shall next inquire what assistance they afford the *following* half, to wit, the extirpating the Protestant Religion and introducing of Popery. And I doubt not but to make it appear, they are thorough pac'd in this also.

In the Parliament that began *Octob. 21. 1680.* there were two Bills that had each two Readings, and were Committed upon the debate of the House, the one, for *Uniting of his Majesties Protestant Subjects*; the other, for *exempting his Majesties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws*: whether they would have passed or no is uncertain, however they were quash'd by the Prorogation of the Parliament. But there was a third Bill which passed both Houses, intitled, *An Act for the Repeal of a Statute made in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. As the late Long Parliament repealed the Statute *de Hæretico comburendo*, for fear, if Popery should once again get the upper hand, it would be executed upon Protestants as it was in Queen Marys daies; so this present Parliament, foreseeing that this Act of Queen Elizabeth, that was made against the *Brownists* and *Barrowists* of those daies (as appears in the Journals of Parliament of that Queen lately published by Mr. Starkey) was likely to be perverted to the ruin of the Estates, Liberties

and (it might be) Lives of Protestants in the daies of a Popish Successor; and thinking it prudent to provide even against the *present dangers* from the Common Enemy the Papists, by bearing a gentler hand over the dissenting Protestants, (on whom this Act was in part executed) and thereby uniting them more firmly in Interest and Affection with the Church of *England*; I say, upon these considerations this present Parl. thought fit to repeal that Act of 35 *Eliz.* But at the end of the Sessions, when this Bill should have been presented (with the others that were expedited) unto his Majesty for his approbation and passing it into an Act, there was no sight or tydings of it. By whose default it was thus smother'd, there has been no opportunity since to find out. However some of our late Addressers throw the odium of it upon his Majesty, telling him, *That he was unwilling to pass his Royal Assent to any Act which may repeal that of 35 Eliz.* (Vide *Kents Address.*) How these Gentlemen come to understand the King's mind in this case, I know not: Sure I am, it is very unlikely but his Majesty would have passed this Bill recommended with the concurrent advice and consent of both Lords and Commons, if it had been tendred to Him, seeing he has alwaies profess'd so great a regard to tender Consciences, and himself from his own motion granted them an *Indulgence* against this and several other Acts of Parliament, which every one may remember how difficultly he was prevailed with by the Parliament to retract, saying he was *resolved to stand by it*. But these men would have it believ'd that He's now otherwise inclin'd; and besides, if their Insinuations of his Majesties command to stifle it were true, it were palpable that He had shaken the very *Constitution* of Parliaments, according to which all Bills that have past both Houses, ought to be presented to his Majesty. But no truly Loyal Subject will believe so gracious a King capable of being perverted to so great an Invasion of the Rights or breach of the Rules of Parliament, let such *ill-designing* flatterers suggest what they please. But where ever the fault of this miscarriage lay, our  
Ad-

Addressers were heartily glad of it, and Petition the King that he will purthis Act of 35. Eliz. in execution, for the safety of the Church, his Majesties Sacred Person and Government. (So Ripon, Suffex, &c.) They accuse the Two Houses as enemies to our Church and Religion, which they endeavour'd to undermine and raine when they went about to Repeal this Act, which is a chief Bulwark of both. (So Holland in Lincolnshire.) Now one would think, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, better knew what would maintain our Religion than these men: but the truth is, our Religion is not the same with the Parliament and them, and so no marvel if what will maintain the one's, would ruine the other's. They call their Religion that which is establisht by Law, and this they swagger they will defend with their Lives and Fortunes: In this protestation the rankest Papist in England will joyn with them, believing Magna Charta to be the firmest Law, and Popery to stand as unshaken thereupon as an House founded upon a Rock, for all the blasts and billows of (suppos'd) Heretical Kings and Parliaments, all whose Acts and Ordinances against Holy Church, a Papist reckons to be in themselves void. And considering all the circumstances, even a charitable man may be pretty confident that this expression [Religion establish'd by Law] is commonly us'd in this sence, when he observes that a Gentleman presum'd to be no very zealous Protestant, in a late Print is represented as promising to stand by it, and to endeavour to preserve it. (But this by the way.) Hence we need not wonder that our Loyal Protestant Addressers account it matter of highest Joy and Satisfaction to understand the King's resolution to maintain the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal course of Descent. Oh how it tickles their fancies, to have hopes of a Popish Successor! So Ely cannot but REJOYCE to find His Majesty expressly professing himself in his own Royal Judgment so nearly concerned in Honour, Justice and Conscience to preserve the rightful Succession of the Crown in its Legal descent. Thus Northumberland do with the greatest TRANSPORT of



JOY and THANKFULNESS return His Majesty their most humble and express acknowledgment for opposing with such incomparable resolution the Arbitrary and unnatural proceedings against the undoubted right of his Succession in the person of his Royal Brother, the greatest Example of Trust, Duty and Obedience to his sacred Majesty. They would almost persuade one, this Royal Brother absented himself from the King's Chapel in obedience to his Majesties Command: or else they will give the Dissenters leave to style themselves his Majesties most dutiful and obedient Subjects, in imitating so great an Example, when they go to a Conventicle instead of the Church; unless they think Mass better than no Common Prayer at all.—But to the Point. I said above, that the prejudices of natural affection, &c. that the King is byassed by, may permit him to stand fair in the opinion of his most sincere Protestant Subjects, notwithstanding his opposing the Bill of Exclusion; and this entailing a Popish Successour, might be matter of their patience and submission: but to be so transported with Joy hereupon, as our Addressers express themselves to be, is a plain token they never intend to be burnt for Hereticks when such a one comes to the Crown, but will (with Derbyshire, &c.) most heartily, to the utmost expence both of their Lives and Fortunes, assist, support, maintain and defend such a Successor, with the Regalia's and Prerogatives of his Crown, and the Religion and Government both of Church and State as established by Law. I believe these Gentlemen are not so devested of Flesh and Blood, nor have so perfectly learn'd of the Apostle to rejoyce in tribulation, but that Fire and Faggot would drive them into sadder apprehensions, if they knew not of a Trick to escape them. But this is the ground of their Triumph, that in such an ones Reign they shall be able to take a fuller revenge on the Schismatical Dogs, than the present mild Laws and more indulgent Prince will permit them. Who sees not how their fingers itch to be at it, that observes their illegal and inhumane treatment of honest and peaceable Protestants at Bristol, &c. even whilst Laws to punish

punish them for such barbarities, are in force? to what Cruelties then will not their Fury carry them, when it shall be encourag'd and spur'd on by Law, and the Commands of a Jesuited King?

What shall I say of their preferring Popery before Presbytery; of their accounting *Calvin* a worse man than *Ignatius Loyola*, and his Doctrines more (or at least as) pernicious? What construction can a man put upon their increduloufness of a *Popish Plot*, that has been so sufficiently attested to be *real* both in Parliaments and inferiour Courts of Judicature; while they profess their firm belief of a *Presbyterian Plot*, that has twice at least been detected by the King and Council to be *forg'd* and *Fictitious* (in the cases of *Dangerfield* and *Fitz-Harris*) and was never yet believ'd by any jury? What rejoycings at the acquittal of *Wakeman*, *Gascoyne*, &c. and what applause of the fairness of their Tryals! but when a Protestant comes to be acquitted, where is the man amongst them that (shall I say) is glad, nay, that does not (with *Durham* in their Anti-Association) complain of *packt Juries*, and (with the *Middle-Templers*) of *Juries perverting the Laws*, and *usurping to themselves an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Dominion*? Which of them exclaims not presently like *Norfolk* against *partial Grand Juries*, *such as can violate their Oaths*, to procure impunity for *Treason*, and think it merit to *affront and oppose the Government*? When a *Papist* is Arraign'd, then [If you will believe what these men have sworn] is upright language for a Judge; but when a Protestant is tryed, he must be hang'd in Complement to the credit of the Witnesses. Into what *Tory's Heart* ever did it enter, or which of their Tongues ever made the motion, to *Abhor* the most damnable *Conspiracy* of the *Papists*, to *Murder* the King, *Massacre* his Subjects, and *subvert* the Protestant Religion? but when a *Sham-Association*, and yet that only to *prevent* a *Popish Successour's* coming to the Crown, is obtruded upon the World; then, nothing but *Death* and the *Cobler*, *Treason*! *Rebellion*! Can such men think

think any man so blind as not to see how they stand affected: 'Twere needless to observe how generally they have got by heart *Thompson's* two Letters to prove *Sir Ed. Godfrey* murdered himself, and of what weight those absurd and contradictory suggestions seem to them; what impressions the dying Jesuits Speeches have made upon their Consciences, and how charitably scrupulous they are grown: whilst they question not but *Colledge* dyed with a Lye in his mouth. What *Clergy-man* that has taken *Le Strange* for his Guide (and those are more than a good many) that will confess the Pope to be Anti-Christ, or the Church of *Rome* to be Idolatrous; let *Usher*, *Mede*, *Moore*, *Stillingfleet*, &c. demonstrate it never so plainly? They must needs acknowledge, they'll tell you, that there are many corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, B U T, what Constitution is without them? They will profess their desires of an Accommodation, though they certainly know, that if such a thing ever be, Protestantism must be swallowed up in Popery; for the Church of *Rome*, as such, cannot recede from one tittle of their present Confession, unless they would let go the very foundation of it, their pretence to *Infallibility*. In a word, shew me the Tory, Clergy or Lay, that will not call the Parliament a Faction, esteem the D. a Saint, affirm the Scarcrow of Schism (upon the Punctilio's of Ceremonies) to be a greater evil than any at this Day tolerated in the Church of *Rome*, and the five Points agreed upon at the Synod of *Dort*, more destructive doctrine than any of the Conventicle at *Trent*.

I will not descend to the Speeches or actions of particular persons; for as that would be tedious, so I should think myself injurious, to charge upon the whole Gang the Extravagancies of a few. But the affirmations, opinions and demeanour that I have enumerated and described, are so common to all of them that I have conversed with, and are so truly and properly characteristical, that none can call me unjust, or say that I have misrepresented them. Upon the whole matter therefore, I appeal to the judgment of any un-



unprejudic'd man, whether the persons I have been speaking of, be not designing enemies of the Power, Priviledges and Freedom of English Parliaments; and whether from their *transport of joy* at the likelihood of a Popish Successor, &c. they be not apparently Well-wishers unto Popery.

It remains that we speak a word or two of the Bill of *Association*. We observed above that when the Bill of *Exclusion* was rejected by the Lords, there was another agreed by the Commons to be brought in, ( Dec. 15. 80.) for the *Associating* of all his Majesties Protestant subjects, for the *safety* of his Majesties person, the *defence* of the Protestant Religion, &c. and for the *preventing* the Duke of York or any Papist, from succeeding to the Crown. And about five dayes after, in an Address to his Majesty, they humbly petition him, *That when a Bill should be tendred to his Majesty in a Parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Crown, his Majesty would give his Royal Assent thereto; And as necessary to fortifie and defend the same, that his Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to Assent to an Act whereby his Majesties Protestant subjects may be enabled to ASSOCIATE themselves for the defence of his Majesties person, the Protestant Religion, and the security of His Kingdoms.* Let any man judge whether these were not as calm, orderly and warrantable steps towards an *Association*, as any could be devised. And indeed our Abhorrrers, for all their Clamours against Associations, have not the face to say any thing against these proceedings: Only they cry, they will enter into none *without his Majesties consent*; as if the Parliament had told the King, they would enter into one *whether He would or not*. But they think they have got a better pretence for decrying and abhorring them, than these motions towards one in the Parliament, and that is, the model of one said to be found in the E. of *Shaftsbury's* Closet. Now though I doubt not but in convenient time it will be made out, as clear as a Negative can be, that that paper was not found there: yet for discourses sake we will

will suppose that it *was*. And then I say, that if there were any thing contained in it that were of it *self* Treasonable; I know not how it would have affected my Lord *Shaftsbury*, unless it had appeared either to have been of my Lords handwriting, or that he had tender'd it to be subscrib'd by any one, or at least it had been prov'd that my Lord knew of its being there. None of which has been, nor I am confident can be made out by any one. And if my Lord, at whose door they lay it, be no more concerned in it; there is no colour of reason in the world to charge I know not what others for consenting to it. So that we have a great cry, and a little wool. The *Mystery of Abhorrence* therefore lies here: As the former *Addresses* were calculated against the Bill of *Exclusion*; so the late *Abhorrences*, against the Bill of *Association* that was to back it. And as both these Bills aimed at nothing else but the safety and defence of his Majesties person and the Protestant Religion, and the security of these Kingdoms, by means which the House of Commons in their great Wisdoms thought lawful and necessary for those ends: So our Addressers and Abhorrrers seem to aim at the clean contrary; For if the Papists see the way made plain for a Popish Successor (as these Gentlemen endeavour to make it) his Majesties most sacred person is in continual danger of being assassinated by the desperate Instruments of the Popish Faction; which if once effected (which the good God forbid!) what then will become of the Protestant Religion and the welfare of these Kingdoms, I tremble to contemplate.

But I would have all Papists to know, that we are not yet scared out of our wits with the noise of Abhorrences, nor would I have them over-confident of carrying the day, for all the interest they have made. When Queen *Elizabeth* with her Protestant Subjects were in like danger from the Q. of Scots and her Traiterous Faction (27 *Eliz.*) as his present Majesty with the like subjects now are from a Parallel, we find very great numbers of the best quality spontaneously  
 entering

entering into an Association, (putting thereto their hands and  
 Seals) wherein, "If her Majesty should come to an *untimely*  
 death, they did not only bind themselves never to allow,  
 accept or favour any such pretended Successor, BY whom  
 or FOR whom any such detestable Act should be Attempt-  
 ed or Committed, as unworthy of all Government in any  
 Christian Realm or Civil State: But did also further pro-  
 test—to persecute such person and persons to death  
 with their joynt and particular Forces, and to act the  
 utmost revenge upon them, that by any means they or  
 any of them could devise or do, or cause to be devised  
 and done for their utter overthrow and extirpation. ] And  
 if the Queen of Scots and her Faction should (only) "at-  
 tempt any Act, counsel or consent to any thing that  
 should tend to the harm of her Majesties Royal person, they  
 would with their joint and particular Forces, withstand,  
 offend and pursue, as well by force of Arms as by all  
 other means of revenge, all such persons, of what state  
 soever and their Abettors, and never desist from all man-  
 ner of pursuit against them, to the utter extermination of  
 them, their Councillors and Abettors. ] Now it does not at  
 all appear, that the Queens pleasure was consulted in this af-  
 fair, but that the Associators did it purely of their own heads:  
 for in those dayes there was that mutual confidence betwixt  
 Prince and people, that Loyal subjects never feared the in-  
 curring the charge of Treason for contriving and using all  
 possible means for the preservation of their Sovereign: but  
 contrarily, when this Association was turned into an Act  
 of Parliament soon after (intituled, *An Act for provision to be  
 made for the surety of the Queens Majesties most Royal person,  
 &c.*) these Associators are therein styled, *Her Majesties good  
 and faithful Subjects*, and are acknowledged to have done  
 it, *in the name of God and with the testimonies of good consciences*.  
 But I urge not this, as if any Association were to be entred  
 into against the Sovereigns mind; for it is one thing to do a  
 thing without his Pleasure first known, and another to do  
 it against the signification of it: However the Association

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proposed in Parliament, that occasioned this discourse, was so far from being carried on *against* the King's mind, that we see they petition'd Him for his *assent* to it, before they had made any progress in it; which as I do not know that he has granted, so neither that he has deny'd.

To be short: As I will not take up Arms without the King's Commission, nor enter into any Association, to commence in his life-time, against his consent: So I do protest (as I doubt not, many thousands will do with me) that if his Majesty shall come by any untimely and violent death, or shall be forced to a Resignation (which is a Political death.) He, BY whom or FOR whom such untimely death shall be procured, or such Resignation extorted, *shall not Reign over me.* For I cannot think any man that has one drop of Royal blood in his Veins, so much incapacitated for the Crown as such a Traytor.

**F I N I S.**

